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POLICING THE EMPIRE

BEHIND THE DEATH OF DAN MITRIONE: WHAT WE KNOW AND WHAT WE WOULD LIKE TO FIND OUT

MICHAEL KLARE
LOUIS COLONNESE

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GREGORY BAUM ON **THE RADICAL KINGDOM** LINDA KUEHL ON **EUDORA WELTY** RUTH BEINART ON **EDWARD BANFIELD'S UNHEAVENLY CITY** TOM FOX ON **CATHOLICS AND BUDDHISTS IN S. VIETNAM** ERIC COCHRANE ON **ARCHBISHOP BALDASSARRI AND THE CURIA** PETER STEINFELS ON **ZLOTYS** JOHN BERRYMAN **ADDRESS TO THE LORD**

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NEWS & VIEWS

Preventive Massacre

Credit Cambodians with introducing some new terminology into the lexicon of war. It's what the Cologne weekly *Rheinischer Merkur* translates "preventive massacre."

Preventive massacre is a simple expedient: in order to allay possibility of massacre, you massacre those who might—just might—make a massacre possible.

Thus, because the Vietcong might use Vietnamese living in Cambodia as a source for supplies, and their homes as places of hiding, the Vietnamese minority is sacrificeable.

Rheinischer Merkur tells how the principle worked in the case of Vietnamese living in the Cambodian provincial capital of Takeo.

All male Vietnamese, age 6 through aged grandfathers, were herded into an enclosed school yard, and told to lie down and sleep. Cambodian soldiers then opened fire into the throng. The salvo lasted one minute. The soldiers then entered the yard, and any Vietnamese still living were shot in the head.

Presently trucks picked up the soldiers and whisked them to the market place, where they fired into Vietnamese-owned shops and stores, killing women and children by the score.

Then they hied to city hall, where they killed seven government employees — all Cambodian citizens, but all Vietnamese by birth.

The deed was now done.

Next day journalists counted more than 140 dead Vietnamese in the school yard alone; at least 30 were under 10-years-old.

For Cambodians the action was justified on the elementary grounds of military necessity.

Rheinischer Merkur was not so casual. It coupled Takeo with Guernica, Lidice, Dresden, Huê and My Lai, while remarking that "the greatest tragedy in every war is the death of people who have nothing to do with the war."

Rheinischer Merkur's account was featured in the September *Atlas*. About the same time, Vice President Agnew was winging toward Cambodia proclaiming that the United States would do "everything we can" for the Lon Nol government.

It's a great bunch of allies we have.

Lead Hamburgers

Another refinement has been added to the nation's riot-control arsenal: the bean bag.

The bean bag is a canvas "bullet" stuffed with birdshot, lead powder, sand or other "heavy" material, and fired by rifle via large shotgun shell. It emits from the rifle muzzle at 120-mph, expands to 4.5 inches in diameter, and socks with the impact of a lead hamburger.

Robert Mawhinney, its inventor, considers the bean bag the ideal weapon. "It should give police a medium-choice response," he said. "Something between just ignoring a guy who's throwing rocks or shooting him with a pistol."

Effects of the bean bag range from being "knocked down to being left breathless." It "would not be pleasant," Mawhinney assured.

The bean bag is just in time for the fall semester. Berkeley police declared they will take the weapon into the field for tests, "if the occasion comes up, like another riot."

Book Publishers' Turn

The Agnew business about the subverting press admits of all sorts of variations. The latest: a charge by the executive secretary of the Church League of America that book publishers are giving "preferential treatment [to] anti-American books and writings."

Major Edgar C. Bundy, a former Air Force intelligence officer, points the finger at Doubleday, Macmillan, Harper and Row, Bantam, Dell, Beacon, Westminster and others, for publishing people like Dr. John C. Bennett, Father Daniel Berrigan, Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman and Dr. Franklin Littel.

Says Bundy: by publishing books by and about such persons and their interests, publishers are promoting the "revolution" against America.

Igniting Bundy's keg, it seems, was the "peace resolution" of last May of the American Book Publishers Council, and the parallel effort "to involve members from every book-connected company" in peace activities.

The Church League of America obviously finds peace activities a suspicious preoccupation.

What's the Church League of America? It was founded in 1937 by Frank J. Loesch, head of the Chicago Crime Commission, and it maintains files at Wheaton, Ill., headquarters on persons, books or articles "attacking and ridiculing a major doctrine of the Christian faith or the American way of life."

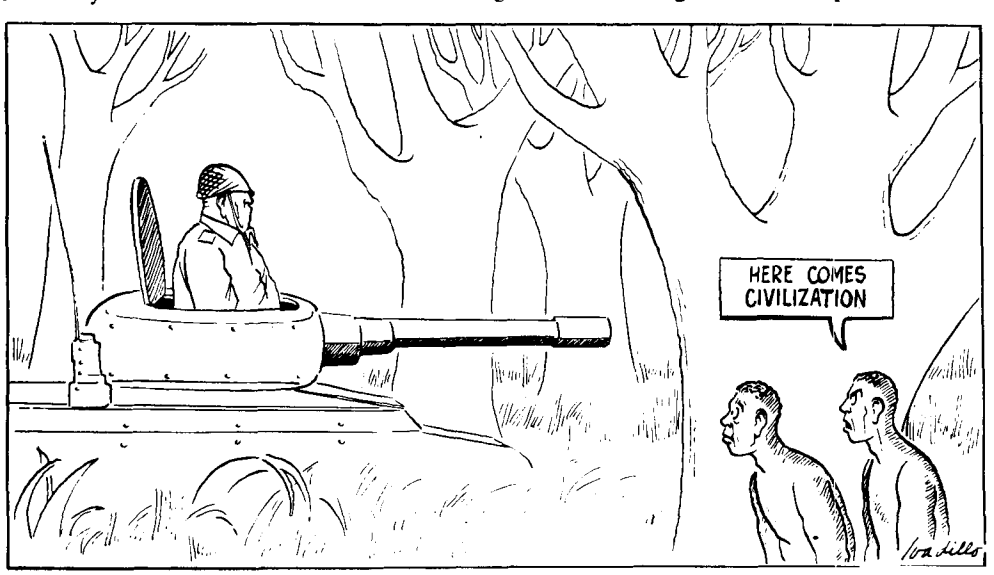
So be warned.

Odds and Ends

—Father Eugene Schallert, S.J., sociologist at the University of San Francisco, estimates that between 73,000 and 75,000, or 15 percent of the entire clerical population, will have left the Catholic Church ministry by 1975.

—The sub-headline of a Dublin *Evening Herald* story reporting the ransacking of a church in Ballymun would seem to imply that liturgical renewal has carried a bit far in Ireland: "Parishioners Stunned and Incensed."

—*Rapid Transit* quotes a Coca-Cola v-p on the firm's drink: "When a soldier in Vietnam has a Coke, it satisfies his need to identify with the American way of life. It reminds him of what he's fighting for." JOHN DEEDY



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CORRESPONDENCE

Second Time 'round

Baltimore, Md.

To the Editors: I have no desire to engage in personal polemics with Mr. della Cava, but his intemperate, *ad hominem* "reply" published along with my letter of Aug. 7 does call for some brief comment. Mr. della Cava compresses both history and persons into Procrustean ideological categories which simply do not fit.

He charges me with urging moral and material support to a "right-wing dictatorship" in 1964-67. But the Brazilian regime in those years was a complex mixture of constitutional and authoritarian elements, a fluid mixture with many contending forces on both sides. Mr. della Cava's own "reply" refers to the strong opposition press and to the defeat of administration-supported candidates in popular elections for State governors. In full dictatorships, whether right-wing or left-wing, such phenomena do not exist. And when the Second Institutional Act —an extremely objectionable authoritarian measure—was decreed in late 1965, the first use of its powers by President Castello Branco was to ensure the peaceful inauguration of those popularly elected opposition governors!

In that fluid situation, I consistently used my limited degree of influence to support the constitutional side. This was true of both public pronouncements and unpublished official representations. In the May, 1964 speech mentioned by Mr. della Cava, I made strongly pointed favorable references to the democratic elections in Venezuela and to the then recent restoration of constitutional democracy in Argentina and Peru. I described socially-minded democratic regimes in northwestern Europe as a model for Latin American political evolution, and I quoted President Johnson's recent statement that the Alliance for Progress "requires us to encourage and support those democratic forces which seek essential change within the

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FAMILY PLAN

As most readers of this journal know, its editors are unenthusiastic about the Nixon Administration and its assorted works and pomps. In general, Mr. Nixon's priorities are not ours, and this is true in both foreign and domestic policy. A striking exception on the home front, however, is the Administration's welfare reform program which would for the first time in our national history put a floor under family income. What the bill provides for is the replacement of the existing welfare system with an income maintenance plan supplying an annual cash payment of $1600 plus $865 worth of food stamps to a family of four with no other income. As one or more of the parents began to earn wages, benefits would continue but on a lessening scale, ending entirely when a total of $3,920 was reached. The working poor as well as welfare families would thus be helped, and welfare clients would be encouraged rather than discouraged in finding work. It is true, of course, that a cash income of $1600 a year is a grossly inadequate floor for a family of four, and the spokesman for Catholic Charities was undoubtedly correct when he urged that all welfare be federalized to eliminate inequities from state to state. Nonetheless, a start must be made somewhere, and the crucial thing is that the principle of a guaranteed family income be established; once that is done, improvements can be made, just as was done in the case of Social Security. Providing as it does for this floor under family income, the Nixon welfare proposal represents a dramatic gain in social insurance, and it is all the more striking since it comes from a conservative rather than a liberal Administration. If it is true, as Daniel Moynihan has suggested, that liberal forces have failed to rally behind the measure only because it has a Nixon tag on it, that fact must be a matter for regret.

Not everyone sees matters in this light, though, and the welfare reform bill has been having tough sledding in the Senate. Passed in the House last April, with even crusty Congressman Mills supporting it, the family assistance bill has been hung up in the Senate Finance Committee for months, and not even the personal intervention of President Nixon has so far been able to win the necessary support of the rock-stubborn Senator John Williams of Delaware, speaking for all those who are appalled at the vision of families of four living in sinful idleness on $1600 a year. Now

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two amendments have been offered which should go a a long way toward easing such worries. The Nixon proposal establishes job training for unskilled welfare clients. Suppose, however, that a man or woman on welfare goes through training and then finds no job available. Would not such a person's last state be worse than his first? With this in mind Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma offered an amendment which would make the government the employer of last resort, earmarking funds to provide jobs for those otherwise unable to find them in such vital areas as education, health, public safety, conservation and the like. At the same time Senator Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut called for an amendment which would face squarely the widespread fear that any kind of ceiling under family income would only encourage idleness. According to Senator Ribicoff's proposal, since endorsed by Mr. Nixon, the family assistance plan would be given a preliminary trial in three areas, with the idea that the living-in-idle-luxury argument could be settled on the basis of hard data rather than sheer speculation. Given the nature of already existing evidence, we are confident that the test provided by the Ribicoff amendment would simply confirm that such popular fears are quite groundless. The important thing now, therefore, is that the Senate pass the family assistance program in this session. Victory on this measure would be a memorable achievement for the Nixon Administration and a significant step forward for the entire nation.

COLD-WAR POLITICS

The action of the Senate in cutting off the U.S. contribution to the International Labor Organization was another of those curious manifestations which point up how abiding are the nation's anti-Communist psychoses and how little the nation has sophisticated since the 1940s, when kindred penalties were being advocated against kindred groups for the kindred reason of Communists in directorates. One thinks instinctively of some of the old UNESCO squabbles.

The United States—the UN, education, science and culture also, for that matter—survived the Communist representatives who were allegedly about to undo the world through UNESCO. And it is reasonably certain that the ILO and the labor movement will survive the Byelorussian representative who has been named one of the five ILO assistant directors by the ILO's new director general, England's Wilfred Jenks. But the Senate action will cost—in program, to the ILO; and in intellectual and ideological respectability to the U.S.

The temptation is to heap the coals of scorn on AFL-CIO President George Meany, since it was his characteristically reactionary testimony which weighed the scales in the Senate's cancellation of the ILO's $3.7 million appropriation. Pavel Astapenko, said Meany—Astapenko is the Communist in question—"will use that position to make each and every employee a Communist agent, whether he wants to be or not." Pretty silly. But it isn't just George Meany who is back in the Cold War era. For on the same day on which 49 Senators were voting Meany's mind on the ILO, 44 Senators were beating back an amendment to eliminate the $401,400 appropriation of the Subversive Activities Control Board, that paper agency which has neither duties nor power but which is untouchable seemingly by reason of its name alone.

The Senatorial decision to deprive the ILO, bad as it was, carried the additional embarrassment of lumping the U.S. among the UN villains who withhold assessments due UN agencies out of pique over the policies or personnel of given agencies. The ILO has been a specialized UN agency since 1946; an international court ruling holds UN members liable for assessments even for those agencies which member nations disapprove of; this ruling, furthermore, was made on U.S. initiative.

Senator Javits reminded his colleagues of these little details, but to no avail. The Meany logic prevailed.

The ILO situation could be salvaged when the appropriations bill goes to House-Senate conference, but few expect it will be. The die is cast and it's a lousy roll.

The Visitor Stopped At St. Apollinare

A hundred years after its completion, the polished marble monolith into which the Italian episcopate was formed during the three centuries between Trent and Vatican I is beginning to show some serious cracks. And the biggest crack is the one that has opened up the last few months around the most unusual, and the most controversial, member of the episcopate, the 63-year-old Archbishop of Ravenna, Salvatore Baldassarri.

Probably no one suspected that Baldassarri would ever depart from the norm when he was appointed to his see in 1955. Until then, he had never done anything but teach in a seminary—in one of those institutions which he himself credits with stamping out all traces of individuality. Except for an unfailing smile, he looked like a caricature of an old-time bishop, with a huge double chin and an overstuffed frame. And he was anything but a theological radical; Hans Küng was a bit too much for him, and he was doubtful about the wisdom of putting certain books before the eyes of the unprepared.

But Baldassarri had one qualification that was shared by none of his colleagues—by none, that is, except John XXIII. He was a historian. He had learned that the contingent is often erroneously thought to be eternal, that precedents can usually be found for the wildest inno-

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vations, and that Christianity has never been dependent upon the survival of any one social or political order—not even the one sanctioned by Ravenna's thriving new industries. He remembered that the church had always owed more to its prophets than to its bureaucrats, and he soon befriended all the more disquieting prophets of his own day, like Zeno Saltini and Lorenzo Milani. He knew that it was not bound by any particular method of evangelization; and he saw no reason why it should not try a new one whenever an older one proved to be no longer effective.

Nothing, indeed, could have been more ineffective than the methods previously used at Ravenna. Hostile aloofness had done little to arrest the steady decline of the practicing Catholic population to less than 10 percent, a record low even for Italy. Rigid authoritarianism had done still less to mellow the long tradition of anti-clericalism that Ravenna had inherited from its former status as a temporal dependency of the Papacy. And vociferous anti-Communism had actually encouraged the steady growth of the Communist Party, which has run the city ever since the fall of Fascism and which now controls the new regional government of Emilia-Romagna as well.

Baldassarri therefore adopted "a manner of ruling completely different from that of this world." He closed the depleted seminary and sent the remaining students to live in small communities around the diocese. He publicly acknowledged "the innate qualities of sincerity and generosity" of his non-Christian neighbors. He admitted that lay Christians were better judges of politics than bishops and told them to follow their own consciences in voting. And he invited the whole city council, Communist majority as well as Christian minority, to a Christmas party at his house.

More important still, Baldassarri substituted dialogue for dictation. He called for open discussion of all issues in the church, and he firmly refused to stop discussing those issues, like conciliarism, celibacy and civil divorce, which the Pope or Cardinal Daniélou (his fiercest assailant) tried to define as closed. He made the diocesan priests' senate fully elective, thus giving it a conservative majority, and bound himself to consult it before making any decision. He left the diocesan weekly *L'argine* (significantly: "The Dike") in the hands of its old-fashioned editors. And he told his priests to try any experiments they thought proper, from wearing sport shirts to converting parish halls into workshops. "It is my policy," he insisted, "to inform the People of God of what I think, to ask their advice about [what I should do], and . . . to keep all debate within the limits of charity."

It is just this open-mindedness, indeed, rather than his administrative acts or his public pronouncements, that has recently "broken boxes" around him, as Italians put it. The first attack came from the Right. Last January nine out of twelve priests in the Campiano vicariate mimeographed off a very frank answer to the questionnaire sent out by the National Bishops Council (CEI), little realizing that the "answers" had been agreed upon months before. When Baldassarri sent it on to Rome with the others, instead of suppressing it and punishing the authors, his old-guard opponents in the chapter denounced him to Cardinal Villot, Vatican Secretary of State, and published Villot's congratulatory reply in the right-wing daily, *Resto di Carlino*. Within a week Baldassarri was accordingly informed of the imminent arrival of a Papal visitor—just like the one that got rid of the Archbishop of Bologna, Cardinal Lercaro, a few years ago.

The next attack came from the Left. Faced with the continuing refusal of their own bishop even to talk to them, the community of Isolotto in Florence approached Baldassarri, who is an old friend of Don Mazzi [see *Commonweal*, 1/9/70], with a request to have their 104 sixth-graders confirmed in Ravenna instead. When he finally returned from the CEI meeting in April with an answer—namely, that he could neither interfere in the affairs of another diocese nor disregard the negative counsel of his own clergy—Isolotto accused him of selling out to the Establishment. And the Ravenna parish of Ponte Nuovo, which hosted a 600-man delegation from Isolotto in May, decided to forgo confirmation for its own children as a gesture of solidarity.

Baldassarri refused either to yield or to counter-attack. He told Rome he would receive anyone—providing that the reception took place before the whole church assembled in the cathedral. He wrote a fraternal explanation to Isolotto that admitted of no other rebuttal than an appeal to sentimentality ("Come look these children in the eye . . . !"). Then, as every magazine in the country picked up the story, and as letters of solidarity poured in from other bishops as well as from the usual dozens of "spontaneous groups," the attackers backed down. The Apostolic Visitor got no farther than the basilica of St. Apollinare in Classe. And that is probably the last time a Visitor will ever be sent anywhere. Isolotto went back into hiding behind its impenetrable wall of self-righteousness. The Ravenna conservatives decided that home rule was better than Rome rule, even under a liberal. The Ravenna radicals gave up rebelling against a leader who refused to stop tolerating and respecting them. Finally, marvel of marvels, the local Christian Democrats broke party discipline and declined to vote against next year's budget just because it was presented by a Communist administration.

Perhaps, then, Baldassarri is right. The cracks in the marble may indeed be a sign, not of impending ruin, but of a "first step toward future growth in the line set by Vatican II."

ERIC COCHRANE

(Eric Cochrane, who was teaching on a Fulbright grant at the University of Perugia, recently returned to this country.)

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I Was a Catholic For the PAX

"As you know, the real impetus to the massive infiltration of the Catholic Church . . . was . . . the second Vatican Council which provided the opportunity for which the Communists had been waiting. . . .

"But the real beachhead of the Communist attack on the Catholic Church came through the planning of the Catholic 'priests' and laity who worked with the Communist regime in Poland. They organized into a group known as PAX . . . a Communist pseudo-Catholic organization assigned the task of creating radical 'religious' propaganda.

"It was through the PAX network that Comrade Piasecki was able to pour billions of zlotys into financing networks of pro-Communist and Catholic publications throughout Western Europe."

—Frank MacMillan in *American Opinion*

Now that the beans have been spilled, I guess we ought to make a clean plate of it. It was not only the West European Catholic press but *Commonweal,* too, which has been secretly supported by Polish *zlotys.*

The date was January 16, 1962, not long after Pope John announced plans for an ecumenical council. Bob Cratchit, our accountant, was working late in the office, by candlelight. Suddenly he heard the sound of jackboots in the hall. "Someone from the archdiocese," thought Cratchit.

It was not someone from the archdiocese. (Cratchit was not well informed: everyone in chancery offices wears satin slippers with silver Renaissance buckles.) It was an agent of PAX. His real name was Ajornaminski. In the U.S. he went under the alias of "Andrew N. Greeley."

"Do you want some *zlotys?"* asked Ajornaminski.

"No thanks," said Cratchit. "I've already eaten."

(Our publisher had sent him a roast goose.)

"Fool," said Ajornaminski. "You just publicize the views of our agents, Hans Kungski, Karl Rahnerski, Cardinal Suenenski. . . . We'll make it worth your while."

"Daniélouski, too?" asked Cratchit.

"Not Daniélouski!" Ajornaminski snapped. He knew his stuff.

"Every month," Ajornaminski explained, "you'll get a shipload of Polish hams. . . ."

"We can't print a magazine on ham," interjected Cratchit. "That isn't kosher."

The Pole didn't crack a smile. His eyes narrowed. Cratchit's eyes widened. Things were beginning to look serious.

"Fool!" said Ajornaminski. "Inside the Polish ham containers will be *zlotys!* Money! Lucre! Mazuma! Dough! Bread!"

"Zlotys!" gasped Cratchit. He tried to widen his eyes some more, but there wasn't any room left on his forehead.

* * * * *

That is how the whole unseemly charade started. *Encounter* had the C.I.A. *The New Leader* got a little support from Taiwan. Why shouldn't *Commonweal* enjoy some secret patronage too? So the shiploads of hams began arriving. Ajornaminski, alias "Andrew N. Greeley," guided the operation from Chicago, where he covered himself by writing columns attacking the guilt-ridden liberals for their party line on the church.

Did "Greeley" channel funds to other Catholic publications like the *National Catholic Reporter*? I can't really say for sure, although Robert Hoyt, editor of that distinguished journal, once let slip a phrase which makes me suspect the answer is yes.

We had met clandestinely in Applesauce, North Dakota, to discuss the financial situation of the pro-Communist Catholic press in the U.S. and Western Europe. We drank and talked late into the night. I tried to think of a witty phrase with which to cap the conversation and bid Comrade Hoyt farewell. I thought of "Good luck!"

"Goolluck!" I said, a bit boozily.

"Thank*zloty*!" Hoyt replied.

* * * * *

I remember going to the bank on one of my first assignments as a *Commonweal* editor.

"What's the rate for *zlotys*?" I asked.

"I think you want the bakery, buddy."

"Fool!" I said, recognizing the teller. It was Cratchit. He was a slow learner.

* * * * *

The rate, it turned out, was 20,000 *zlotys* to the dollar. That was a lot of ham. We stayed up nights, plying our can openers and crushing the tins flat. But still the *zlotys* kept coming.

* * * * *

Kept coming, that is, till Daniélouski, alias "Frank MacMillan," cracked the PAX operation wide open. Ajornaminski ordered me to make a desperate, last-minute effort to preserve his cover by attacking "Andrew N. Greeley" in these pages. I complied. But it was too late. Daniélouski, alias "Frank MacMillan," fed his information to the Birch Society's *American Opinion*. We were caught ham-handed.

Now that the *zlotys* are gone, *Commonweal,* as you know, is in severe financial straits. But at last we can come clean. No more secret meetings, no more attacks from "Andrew N. Greeley," no more cut fingers from opening ham tins. The nightmare is over.

PETER STEINFELS

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POLICING THE EMPIRE

Export-import trade in 'law and order'

MICHAEL T. KLARE

The now familiar panacea for domestic ills, "law and order," has long been used to describe American objectives in the troubled areas of Africa, Asia and Latin America. While the Federal Government did not start aiding local U.S. police agencies until 1968 (under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Street Act), we have been supplying the police of selected underdeveloped nations with equipment, arms and training since 1954. U.S. funds have been used to construct the National Police Academy of Brazil, to renovate and expand the South Vietnamese prison system, and to install a national police communications network in Colombia. The Agency for International Development (AID) estimates that over one million foreign policemen have received some training or supplies through the U.S. 'Public Safety' program—a figure which includes 100,000 Brazilian police and the entire 85,000-man National Police Force of South Vietnam.

U.S. foreign aid programs in the underdeveloped "Third World" call for a modest acceleration of economic growth, to be achieved wherever possible through the normal profit-making activities of U.S. corporations and lending institutions. It is obvious, however, that an atmosphere of insecurity and rebelliousness does not provide an attractive climate for investment. In the rapidly urbanizing nations of the Third World, civil disorders have become a common phenomenon as landless peasants stream to the cities in search of economic and cultural opportunities. Since most of these countries cannot satisfy the aspirations of these new city-dwellers under present economic and social systems, built-up tensions are increasingly giving way to attacks on the status quo. After his 1969 tour of Latin America, Nelson Rockefeller noted in his report to the President that while Latin armies "have gradually improved their capabilities for dealing with Castro-type agrarian guerrillas," it appeared that "radical revolutionary elements in the hemisphere [are] increasingly turning toward urban terrorism in their attempts to bring down the existing order." This prediction has already been borne out in Brazil and Uruguay, where urban guerrillas have staged spectacular bank robberies and kidnappings.

Since the late 1950's a paramount concern of American policymakers has been the preservation of social stability in countries deemed favorable to U.S. trade and investment. U.S. military planning has been shaped by the need to provide, on a moment's notice, trained counterinsurgency forces that can be flown to the aid of friendly regimes threatened by popular insurrection. The Military Assistance Program has been used to upgrade the capabilities of indigenous forces to overcome rural guerrilla forces. Finally, on the premise that the police constitute the "firstline of defense against subversion," the Agency for International Development has funneled American funds and supplies into the hands of Third World police forces.

During hearings on the foreign assistance appropriations for 1965, AID Administrator David Bell described the rationale behind U.S. police assistance programs as follows:

> Maintenance of law and order including internal security is one of the fundamental responsibilities of government . . . .
>
> Successful discharge of this responsibility is im-

MICHAEL T. KLARE, *a staff member of the North American Congress on Latin America, is completing a book for Alfred A. Knopf on counterinsurgency planning in the United States.*

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perative if a nation is to establish and maintain the environment of stability and security so essential to economic, social, and political progress. . . .

Plainly, the United States has very great interests in the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere of law and order under humane, civil concepts and control. . . . When there is a need, technical assistance to the police of developing nations to meet their responsibilities promotes and protects these U.S. interests.

The Public Safety program is not large in comparison to the military aid program—but its supporters can muster some impressive arguments in its favor. It is argued, for instance, that the police—being interspersed among the population—are more effective than the military in controlling low-scale insurgency. Supporters of the police assistance program also point out that police forces are cheaper to maintain than military forces, since they do not require expensive "hardware" like planes, tanks and artillery.

These arguments, advanced by men like Col. Edward Lansdale of the CIA, received their most favorable response from President John F. Kennedy and his brother Robert, then the Attorney General, in the early 1960's. Presidential backing was responsible for a substantial expansion of the Public Safety program in 1962, and for the centralization of all U.S. police assistance activities in AID's Office of Public Safety (OPS). The State Department memorandum establishing OPS is noteworthy for its strong language—the memo, issued in November 1962, declared that AID "vests the Office of Public Safety with primary responsibility and authority for public safety programs and gives that Office a series of powers and responsibilities which will enable it to act rapidly, vigorously, and effectively . . . powers greater than any other technical office or division of AID." The two Kennedys also gave enthusiastic support to the creation of an Inter-American Police Academy in the Panama Canal Zone. (In order to open the Academy to police officers from other countries, it was later moved to Washington, D.C. and reorganized as the International Police Academy.)

The Office of Public Safety is empowered to assist Third World police organizations in three ways: (1) by sending "Public Safety Advisors" who provide "in-country" training for rank-and-file policemen; (2) by providing training at the International Police Academy and other U.S. schools for senior police officers and technicians; and (3) by shipping weapons, ammunition, radios, patrol cars, jeeps, chemical munitions and related equipment.

Using Latin America to measure the scope of these activities, we find that 90 Public Safety Advisors are stationed in 15 countries, and that some 2,000 Latin police officers have received training at the International Police Academy. Total OPS expenditures in these 15 countries reached an estimated $39 million by July 1, 1970 (outlays in individual countries ranged from the $1-$2 million spent in Bolivia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guyana, Honduras, Uruguay and Venezuela, to $3 to $4 million subsidies to Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Panama and Peru). The leading beneficiary of the Public Safety program in Latin America was Brazil, which received $7.5 million in OPS funds by the middle of 1970. AID's *Program and Project Data Presentations to the Congress for Fiscal Year 1971* noted that "through December 1969, the Public Safety project in Brazil has assisted in training locally over 100,000 federal and state police personnel. Additionally, 523 persons received training in the U.S." The AID document added that the project "has supported a substantial increase in police telecommunications" and that "substantial increases in police mobility have been achieved,

Death of a Policeman

Unanswered Questions About a Tragedy

The death of an American police-adviser at the hands of Uruguayan urban guerrillas has raised the issue of American involvement in the torture techniques of the police of certain Latin American countries. The American official was Dan A. Mitrione, employee of the U.S. Agency for International Development, who was kidnapped in early August, then shot and killed after Uruguayan President Jorge Pacheco Areco refused the demands of guerrillas for the release of 150 political prisoners.

Articles in *Jornal do Brasil*, the *Washington Post* and "other documentation" now suggest links between Mitrione and the policies of police in Brazil and Uruguay, and have prompted a priest-official of the U.S. Catholic Conference to demand a probe into Mitrione's death. Father Louis Colonnese, who is director of the Conference's Division for Latin America, said the investigation should be undertaken from the "perspective of cause and effect," not as an isolated case of violence. It must be determined, he declared, "whether Mitrione was paid with tax money by an agency of the U.S. government to teach and to perform torture under the euphemistic guise of promoting internal security."

Father Colonnese spoke of the Mitrione case with an interviewer. Excerpts follow:

Q. You mention that Dan Mitrione was formerly assisting police in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, which is reportedly a center for torture activities. Can you doc-

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primarily through funding for Brazilian manufactured vehicles."

In providing this kind of assistance, OPS notes that most countries possess a unified 'civil security service' which, "in addition to regular police include paramilitary units within civil police organizations and paramilitary forces such as gendarmeries, constabularies, and civil guards which perform police functions and have as their primary mission maintaining internal security." The AID program is designed to encompass all of these functions. According to OPS:

> Individual Public Safety programs, while varying from country to country, are focused in general on developing within the civil security forces a balance of (1) a capability for regular police operations, with (2) an investigative capability for detecting and identifying criminal and/or subversive individuals and organizations and neutralizing their activities, and with (3) a capability for controlling militant activities ranging from demonstrations, disorders, or riots through small-scale guerrilla operations.

As noted in the 1962 State Department memo, OPS possesses unique powers not granted to other AID bureaus. These powers enable OPS to "act rapidly, vigorously and effectively" in aiding Latin regimes threatened by popular uprisings. When a crisis develops in a Latin capital, OPS officials often stay up "night after night" in their Washington, D.C., office to insure that needed supplies—including radios and tear gas—reach the beleaguered police of the friendly regime.

Several instances of such rapid action by OPS can be identified. In 1962, when the government of Venezuela (then headed by President Romulu Betancourt) came under heavy pressure from urban guerrillas of the Armed

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ument any relationship between the police in that area and tortures?

A. There is much documentation concerning reported tortures in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. For example, the American Committee for Information on Brazil prepared a dossier in April of 1970. . . . The dossier contains a specific reference to "the use of torture against the opponents of the present military regime" which "now appears to surpass all other techniques of police investigation and inquiry." . . . [Cited is a lengthy description of a live classroom demonstration of torture techniques on 10 political prisoners at a police center in Belo Horizonte] . . . That is the type of thing which is reportedly going on in Belo Horizonte. Police in Belo Horizonte had the benefit of Public Safety advice from the Agency for International Development.

Q. Do you have any reason to believe that the Uruguayan police, with whom Dan Mitrione worked as an adviser, were guilty of using torture methods?

A. Yes, I do. The upper house of Uruguay's legislature recently appointed an investigatory commission comprised of seven Uruguayan Senators to check out repeated accusations from citizens that torture was being used by police in Montevideo. The committee spent five months investigating these charges and published a 15-chapter report stating that torture is a "normal, frequent and habitual occurrence" in Uruguay. The report cited 12 types of torture used by police, including "needless beatings, electric shocks, daily use of psychological torture" and "inhuman treatment" of pregnant women "held as reprisals against relatives." The investigatory report included medical certificates and testimony from both torture victims and police. The investigation showed that many of the torture victims were students and labor leaders. This is the type of police force which Mitrione was advising.

Q. Do you think that Mitrione's work as a public safety adviser employed by the U.S. Government made his death a predictable occupational risk or is this a unique case?

A. Mitrione and the other AID public safety advisers were serving in a situation which in many ways resembles that of a war. I'm sure that this fact is realized by both sides in this confrontation. It's true that in Brazil and Uruguay the war is undeclared, but it has also never been formally declared in Vietnam.

Dan Mitrione was the seventh AID public safety adviser to be killed on duty. The six others were stationed in Vietnam. Another AID public safety adviser serving in Bolivia was seriously wounded and is now paralyzed from the waist down. Six other AID public safety advisers have suffered serious wounds.

Q. Should the questions you raise concerning Dan Mitrione's death be considered as personal criticism of the man or are they directed toward the role of the AID Public Safety Program in Latin America?

A. They should be considered as questions concerning the possibly dire implications and effects of the AID Public Safety Program in Latin America. Mitrione was a part of this program. If the impartial investigation I have requested clears AID, then it also clears Mitrione of possible complicity in torture under the guise of fostering internal security.

If the investigation, and I stress it must be both competent and impartial, finds that AID shares the blame for these alleged inhuman acts of torture with the police who allegedly performed them, Mitrione shares that guilt if only by association. I also stress that denials from AID officials or other compromised sources are meaningless . . .

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Forces of National Liberation (FALN), President Kennedy launched a crash program to improve police operations in Caracas. A Public Safety Advisor named John Longan was secretly flown into the Venezuelan capital to head a team of police instructors. Using techniques developed by Special Forces instructors, Longan and his assistants provided Venezuelan police with intensive training in riot-control operations. According to Peter T. Chew, a journalist sympathetic to OPS, Longan's men "persuaded Venezuelan police to favor the old-fashioned shotgun and showed how shotguns, firing buckshot and gas grenades, could be effectively used against terrorists." OPS advisors were also brought into the Dominican Republic after the 1965 insurrection to give crash courses in crowd-control techniques. In the space of a few months, thousands of Dominican police were schooled in the handling of anti-riot chemical agents, large quantities of which were presumably supplied by AID.

AID officials insist that Public Safety assistance is "not given to support dictatorships." But there *are* apparently exceptions to this rule: Administrator Bell told a Senate Committee in 1965 that "it is obviously not our purpose or intent to assist a head of state who is repressive. On the other hand, we are working in a lot of countries where the governments are controlled by people who have shortcomings." Not wanting to embarrass AID or any of the people we support who have "shortcomings," Bell did not mention names.

It is entirely possible that one country Bell was referring to is Brazil—a country which enjoys a substantial OPS contribution despite well-documented reports that political prisoners are regularly being tortured by the police. In justifying continued OPS aid to such regimes, Bell explained that ". . . the police are a strongly anti-Communist force right now. For that reason it is a very important force to us." Obsessed by the Cold War ideology shared by all U.S. police agencies, it is no surprise that these men should consider a small amount of (allegedly) Communist-led terrorism to be sufficient reason to subsidize the repressive apparatus of a totalitarian regime.

AID officials are fully aware that in many countries receiving OPS aid the police are regarded with suspicion and resentment by the native population because of a tradition of brutality and oppression. Since provocative police behavior frequently inspires anti-government campaigns, "the development of responsible and humane police administration and judicial procedures" is an important aspect of the Public Safety program. Students at the various OPS schools are advised to "stay out of politics" (i.e., to support whatever regime happens to be in power), and are trained in the techniques of "non-lethal crowd control" (i.e., the massive use of riot gases). The main objective of this approach, according to OPS Director Byron Engle, is to prevent situations in which "an oppressive police force drives a deep wedge between the people and their government." As a successful application of this philosophy, OPS cites the case of the Dominican Republic, where—after intensive training in the use of chemical agents—"police action against the Communists was so effective that the insurgents did not even end up with the body of a dead comrade to drag through the city in false martyrdom."

'Public Safety' in Vietnam

The Public Safety program in South Vietnam is the largest and one of the oldest U.S. police assistance programs—half of AID's Public Safety Advisors and more than half of OPS's annual budget are committed to Vietnam operations. The Vietnam program began in 1955, when Michigan State University received a contract from the International Cooperation Administration (AID's predecessor agency) to assemble a team of police experts to advise the government of Ngo Dinh Diem. Ultimately 33 advisors served in the Police Division of the now famous Michigan State University Group (MSUG); of this group, at least a few are known to have been CIA agents. The police division supervised the reorganization of Vietnam's decrepit police system, provided training in a variety of police skills, provided small arms and ammunition, and helped establish a modern records system for filing data on political suspects.

The MSUG effort was superseded in 1959 by a Public Safety Division (PSD) under direct U.S. management. In keeping with President Kennedy's call for increased counterinsurgency initiatives, the program was vastly expanded in 1962. Beginning with a staff of six in 1959, the PSD mission in Vietnam increased to 47 in 1963, and to 204 by mid-1968. Total support of the PSD program had reached $95,417,000 by the end of fiscal year 1968, and has continued at the rate of about $20 million a year; (some of these funds are supplied by the Department of Defense rather than by AID).

From the very start of the Vietnam conflict, the National Police (NP) of South Vietnam has been regarded by our government as a paramilitary force with certain responsibilities related to the overall counter-insurgency effort. In the Foreword to a manual on *The Police and Resources Control in Counter-Insurgency* (Saigon, 1964), Chief Frank E. Walton wrote that "the methods included in this text are emergency procedures not utilized in a normal peace-time situation. They are stringent, *war-time* measures designed to assist in defeating the enemy . . ." In order to upgrade Vietnamese police capabilities to carry out its wartime responsibilities, PSD supervised the consolidation of all regional, provincial and specialized police agencies under the directorate of National Police in 1962, and subsequently prepared a "National Police Plan" for Vietnam in 1964.

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Under the plan, the NP's personnel strength grew from 19,000 men in 1963 to 52,000 by the end of 1965, 70,000 in 1967, and 85,000 by the end of 1969. To keep pace with this rapid growth, the plan provided for a vast increase in U.S. technical assistance, training and commodity support. Public Safety Division aid and management have become so extensive, that the National Police might more properly be considered a U.S. mercenary force than an indigenous institution.

Specific Functions

The specific counterinsurgency functions performed by the police—resources control, identification, surveillance and pacification—are spelled out in an OPS brochure on *The Role of the Public Safety In Support of the National Police of Vietnam* (Washington, D.C., 1969), and in AID's *Program and Project Data Presentations to the Congress for Fiscal Year 1971.*

Resources Control is defined by Public Safety Advisor E. H. Adkins, Jr., as "an effort to regulate the movement of selected resources, both human and material, in order to restrict the enemy's support or deprive him of it altogether . . ." In order to prevent the flow of supplies and people to and from villages loyal to the National Liberation Front (NLF), 7,700 members of the National Police currently man some 650 checkpoints at key locations on roadways and waterways, and operate mobile checkpoints on remote roads and trails. By 1968, more than 468,456 persons had been arrested in this program, of whom 28,000 were reported as "VC suspects." AID reported that "Resources control efforts in 1969 resulted in nearly 100,000 arrests including more than 10,000 known or suspected VC. Confiscations included 50,000 units of medicine/drugs and 6,000 tons of contraband foodstuffs."

The *National Identity Registration Program* is described by OPS as "an integral part of the population and resources control program." Under a 1957 law, amended in 1967, every Vietnamese 15 years and older is required to register with the Saigon government and carry identification cards; anyone caught without the proper ID cards is considered a "VC suspect" and subject to imprisonment or worse. At the time of registration, a full set of fingerprints is obtained from each applicant, and information on his or her political beliefs is recorded. By 1971, 12,000,000 persons are to have been reached by this identification/registration program. "Once completed," AID explains, "the identification system will provide for a national repository of fingerprints and photographs and biographical data. It will be one of the most complete national identification systems in the world, and one of the most badly needed."

Surveillance of persons and organizations suspected of harboring anti-government sentiments is the responsibility of the NP's Special Police Branch (SP). The Special Branch is nothing more or less than Vietnam's secret police; originally the Indo-Chinese branch of the French *Sûreté,* the SP was known as the Vietnamese Bureau of Investigation during the Diem regime. According to the 1962 decree establishing the National Police, the SP was given the responsibilities of: "Gathering information on political activities," and "carrying out undercover operations throughout the country, searching for, investigating, keeping track of, and prosecuting elements indulged in subversive activities." OPS documents state that "SP agents penetrate subversive organizations," and "use intelligence collection, political data [and] dossiers compiled from census data . . . to separate the bad guys from the good." AID has nothing to say about the criteria used to separate the "bad guys" from the "good guys"; anyone familiar with Vietnamese scene knows, however, that the SP's major responsibility is surveillance of non-Communist groups that could pose a political challenge to the regime in power. Persons who advocate negotiations with the NLF are routinely picked up by the Special Police and sentenced to stiff prison terms.

Pacification usually brings to mind "good-will" projects like school construction and free medical care; in Vietnam, however, the paramount task of the U.S. pacification effort is the identification and neutralization of the local NLF administrative apparatus—in Pentagon nomenclature, the "Viet Cong Infrastructure" (VCI). The counter-infrastructure campaign was initiated by the CIA in July 1968 as the "Phung Hoang" program—better known in English as Operation Phoenix. This program, incorporated into the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS) effort, is described by American officials as "a systematic effort at intelligence coordination and exploitation." In the *intelligence* phase, all allied intelligence services—including South Vietnam's Special Police Branch and America's CIA and military intelligence organizations—are supposed to pool the data they have collected (or forcibly extracted) from informers and prisoners on the identity of NLF cadres. It is for this ultimate purpose that most of the other police functions described above —interdiction, identification, registration and surveillance—are carried on. In the *exploitation* phase of Phoenix, members of the paramilitary National Police Field Forces, sometimes assisted by the Army, make secret, small-scale raids into contested areas to seize or eliminate persons who have been identified by the intelligence services as "VCI agents." In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the head of CORDS, ex-CIA agent William E. Colby stated that in 1969 a total of 19,534 suspected VCI agents had been "neutralized"—of this amount 6,187 had been killed, 8,515 arrested, and 4,832 persuaded to join the Saigon side. Colby insisted that Phoenix did not constitute an "assassination" or "counter-terror" operation.

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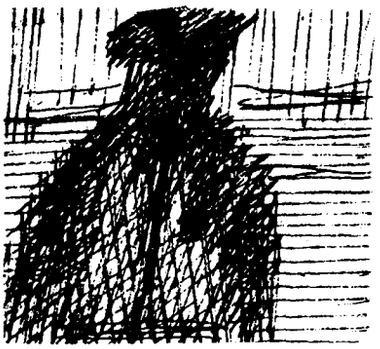
Each of the counterinsurgency programs described has been accompanied by an expansion of the prison population of South Vietnam. Since prison management is considered a major task of the overall police responsibility, the U.S. Public Safety program includes substantial assistance to the Directorate of Corrections —the Saigon agency ultimately responsible for the operation of South Vietnam's 41 civil prisons. U.S. aid has enabled the Directorate to enlarge the prison system from its 1967 capacity of 20,000 prisoners to the present capacity of 33,435 inmates.

In the past two years, OPS expenditures in support of prison maintenance has totaled $1.6 million. Specific project targets in the current year, according to AID's *Program and Project Data Presentations to the Congress,* include: "the renovation and expansion of selected correction centers, the addition of up to 1,000 trained personnel to administer correction centers . . . and the



implementation of a plan for relocating prisoners in order to reduce overcrowding and provide greater security from VC attacks." To achieve these targets, "AID will provide technical advisors to help supervise relocations and to train new recruits . . . [and] will provide supplies for prison security . . ." One of the facilities selected for the relocation program was the dread prison on Con Son island with its now-notorious "tiger cages."

In order to upgrade the administrative capabilities of the Corrections directorate, AID regularly provides training to Vietnamese prison officials "outside of Vietnam." Although AID does not divulge any details, the ten officials receiving such training in the current fiscal year are probably among the 60 Vietnamese police officers brought to the U.S. to attend special courses. According to the AID manual on *Public Safety Training,* foreign police personnel can attend an 18-week course in "Penology and Corrections" at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale. The Southern Illinois program includes instruction in such topics as: "disposition of convicted offenders and juveniles; philosophy and practice of correctional institutional management; methods of correctional staff training and development." The program also includes a course on "Correctional Institute Design and Construction."

> . . . provision of commodity and advisory support for a police force of 108,000 men by the end of FY 1971; . . . assisting the National Identity Registration Program (NIRP) to register more than 12,000,000 persons 15 years of age and over by the end of 1971; continuing to provide basic and specialized training for approximately 40,000 police annually; providing technical assistance to the police detention system including planning and supervision of the construction of facilities for an additional 8,000 inmates during 1970; and helping to achieve a major increase in the number of police presently working (6,000) at the village level.

This presentation, it must be remembered, only represents programs under AID authority; missing from this prospectus are NP activities financed by the CIA and the Defense Department. Military Assistance funds are used to finance the activities of the paramilitary National Police Field Forces (NPFF), which, by January 1969, constituted a small army of 12,000 men organized into 75 companies (our expansion plans call for a total complement of 22,500 men and 108 companies by the end of this year). Because of the "military commonality" of their equipment, all commodities' support to the NPFF is provided by the Pentagon. The extent of CIA contributions to the National Police is of course impossible to determine; it is known, however, that the CIA has been involved in modernizing Vietnam's secret police files since 1955. One does not have to invoke the sinister image of the CIA, however, to establish beyond a doubt that the United States is intimately involved in every barbarous act committed by the South Vietnamese police on behalf of the Saigon government.

At Home Application

In studying the U.S. Public Safety program abroad, one is sooner or later struck by the extent to which the goals, doctrines and practices of this program have been adopted by the authorities here as an answer to our own internal difficulties. Thus when Administrator Bell tells us that "public safety forces have done and can do much to prevent conspiracy and the development of disruptive situations, and to insure an environment of law and order which supports the orderly social, economic, and political development of emerging nations," one can easily picture Ronald Reagan or Spiro Agnew speaking in the same terms of our own police apparatus. AID spokesmen have in fact made a determined effort to advise other government officials of the domestic application of techniques developed by OPS for use abroad. In September, 1967, Public Safety Director Byron Engle told the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission) that "in working with police in various countries . . . we have acquired a great deal of experience in dealing with violence ranging from demonstrations and riots to guerrilla warfare." Much of this experience, he asserted,

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"may be helpful in the United States." Among the specific recommendations made by Engle for the control of urban disorders were: the massive use of chemical munitions, stringently enforced curfews, and the establishment of special tactical police units available on a 24-hour stand-by basis. Precisely the same recommendations were made to President Johnson by former Pentagon aide Cyrus Vance, and were later put into effect in Washington, D.C., when rioting broke out following the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. And when, in the wake of this rioting, Congress passed the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, a principal feature of the Public Safety program—Federal assistance to local police forces—became an established mechanism for domestic law enforcement.

BED TO WORSE

THE SCREEN

Returning to the world of movies seems strange after a long illness such as I had. My battle with pneumonia, a heart attack *and* a stroke had a reality to it that films, no matter how good, seldom impart. And my dreams and nightmares (stemming no doubt from the heavy medication) were wilder than anything movies ever thought up. Later, the extravagant dreams began to disappear. I became impatient with being a patient. My occasional crabbing had to be met with reminders of the distance I'd come since my "week of dying" last September.

The only film I saw during this seemingly endless period was *Citizen Kane,* shown to me by Fr. Edelen, a kind and thoughtful chaplain at St. Vincent's Hospital, who knew that seeing the Welles masterpiece once again would be a good stimulant. And he was right. We discussed the film for days.

Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, nothing I've seen since leaving hospital and rest-home has come up to *Kane,* but I have seen many movies, particularly those I missed during the illness.

One of the best of the lot was *Z* which proved worthy of the good reviews and many awards it won. I also liked Abraham Polonsky's *Tell Them Willie Boy Is Here,* which was moving, in spite of an occasional preachy lo-the-poor-Indian tone, with fine performances by Robert Blake as the killer-Indian and Robert Redford as the humane sheriff in pursuit. Director Rene Clement's mystery thriller, *Rider on the Rain,* held me in spite of its complicated plot. And I found the well-made *Why, Anna,* a story of a schizophrenic and her return to normalcy, more exciting and interesting than any thriller.

But all too often the movies I saw during my recovery period proved less interesting for themselves than for the medical evidence they provided my doctors on the damage the stroke had done to my right eye. That I could see the films so well was encouraging; whether they were worth seeing was another question.

I was less than enthusiastic about *Airport* which gathered a large, starry cast in one locale to tell a melodramatic *Grand Hotel* type of tale. Nor was I fond of *The Only Game in Town,* through which Elizabeth Taylor walked while Warren Beatty tried to instill some action into the game. The latest Ingrid Bergman film, *A Walk in the Spring Rain,* turned out to be little more than a pallid soap opera about a gentle married lady who was attracted to a rough-and-tumble backwoodsman in the Great Smoky Mountains. The scenery was lovely.

Even worse than the above three concoctions were: *The Hawaiians* which crowded so many characters into this continuation of the Michener story that it seemed more like a 134-minute synopsis than anything else; *The Kremlin Letter,* such a completely confused thriller about secret police and intelligence agents that even its outstanding cast (including George Sanders in drag) couldn't save it; and *The Out-of-Towners,* a ridiculously sadistic movie in which everything untoward happens to Jack Lemmon and wife Sandy Dennis in New York. Lemmon plays such an unpleasant fellow that he deserves what he gets.

But don't get me wrong. I still like movies and am glad I can see them—especially when something really good like *My Night at Maud's* comes along. This French opus, directed by Eric Rohmer, is by far the best film I've seen since my return to the world of the living. It was reviewed so well by Martin Tucker in the May 1, 1970 *Commonweal* that I have nothing more to add—except to urge all readers to see this very Catholic and catholic film. It makes a guy glad to be alive.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

JOHN BERRYMAN

From "5 Addresses to The Lord"

II

Germanicus leapt upon the wild lion in Smyrna,
wishing to pass quickly from a lawless life.
The crowd shook the stadium.
The proconsul marvelled.

'Eighty & six years have I been his servant,
and he has done me no harm.
How can I blaspheme my King who saved me?'
Polycarp, John's pupil, facing the fire.

Make too me acceptable at the end of time
in my degree, which then Thou wilt award.
Cancer, senility, mania,
I pray I may be ready with my witness.

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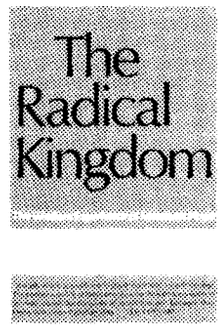
LIBERATION AND THE GOSPEL



The Radical Kingdom
ROSEMARY R. RUETHER
Harper & Row, $7.50

GREGORY BAUM

ROSEMARY RUETHER has written an important and interesting book. Using original theological concepts, devised by herself, she analyzes and grasps the meaning of political movements, in particular the revolutionary tradition of the West. Her work follows the general approach of Troeltsch and Niebuhr. As these two scholars, though from a different vantage point, Mrs. Ruether looks upon the Christian message as a factor in the creation of man's political and cultural consciousness. Her book is a significant contribution to what Johannes Metz has called "political theology": here the gospel is presented as the key for understanding the bondage of human society and its future liberation.

In order to deal with historical material covering many centuries, Mrs. Ruether divides the Christian attitudes to salvation into three types, "the apocalyptic crisis," "the inner journey," and "the historical drama." Without making undue claims for this classification, she develops how these three views of salvation relate believers to society and history and what kind of political action these views provoke and sustain.

"The apocalyptic crisis" rejects present society as wholly and irremediably corrupt. Salvation cannot occur within it. Salvation will take place as judgment on the present and its total destruction. Only as this world is being annihilated will God establish the new kingdom in his own power. The apocalyptic believer negates the world: he is often ready to play his part in dismantling the present culture. Trusting that the new kingdom will be created by God, he does not attempt to rebuild the world on his own assumptions. The new community created after the catastrophe will be wholly the work of God.

"The inner journey" has tamed the apocalyptic vision. Here salvation is already present in man's heart. The new is no longer wholly in the future. It is experienced in man's inner life now. The believers holding this view of salvation tend to withdraw from society. While they will not attempt to destroy it, they learn to shrug their shoulders about it. The world is not important. For this reason they often try to create ideal communities for themselves which translate the inner perfection into social terms.

Finally there is the view of salvation as "historical drama." Here God is believed to be present to the whole of history. He has manifested himself in Israel and Christ as pledge of universal salvation. The dramatic process of mankind's transformation passes through many stages and pivotal points, in which man cooperates with the redeeming God. This historical process includes moments of crisis and radical change. Christians who believe that history is about to enter the final stage of this redemptive drama, the new age, come close to the radical view of society held by apocalypticists. The entry into the age of the Spirit is the formation of an ecstatic society beyond the necessities of reason and institution.

These three types of view are useful concepts for analyzing Christian teaching and political thought. Mrs. Ruether is particularly interested in the apocalyptic crisis. In this view of the radical kingdom, she sees the source for the entire revolutionary tradition of the West. Because of her sympathy for this tradition, she comes to deeper insights into the radical Christian movements than did Troeltsch and, decades later, Reinhold Niebuhr. At the same time Mrs. Ruether finds in this apocalyptic view the original Christian revelation. As she has explained in other publications of hers, she follows the school of historical exegesis that looks upon the Christianity of the churches as a taming and thus a partial distortion of the original apocalyptic hope and an institutional adjustment to the *Parousieverzögerung*.

Interesting, informative and fruitful is Mrs. Ruether's examination of the 16th century Anabaptists and the Puritan revolutionaries. She finds in these Christian radicals the patterns of revolutionary behavior and revolutionary outcome that remain the only available alternatives until the present. The Christian radicals had their power people, their flower people, and their utopian communes. Mrs. Ruether demonstrates what has hardly ever been acknowledged, that the revolutionary tradition before, with, and after Marx, is in continuity with biblical apocalypticism mediated through the 16th century radicals. Even in the atheistic revolutionaries we find the same negation of contemporary culture, the same readiness to destroy present society, the ecstatic expectation of the future community, and, more surprising, almost the same biblical way of speaking about the crisis of history. The Marxist intellectual revival at the turn of the century acknowledged this debt in several studies made on Anabaptist leaders. One regrets that this part of *The Radical Kingdom* is not more detailed, especially since the author reveals that she knows much more about the history of radical thought than she puts down. Incidentally, her chapter on Karl Marx is a masterpiece.

The second part of the book offers an interpretation of modern theology, from the 19th century liberals on,

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through the neo-orthodox reaction, to the contemporary secular theologies. She tries to understand this movement in terms of its political implications. Here Mrs. Ruether shows herself as an excellent writer. She has the unusual gift of laying hold of the significant social aspects of theological positions and of summing up the thought of theologians in an original and creative way. Of special interest is her treatment of Gogarten, less well known in America, the first secular theologian, who made the neo-orthodox stress on transcendence a principle of historical critique and thus anticipated the various subsequent theologies that deal with divine transcendence in terms that enable men to pass beyond (transcend) present structures. In this connection Mrs. Ruether also presents an analysis of Teilhard de Chardin.

In the third and final section of her book, the author offers her interpretation of the radical movements in the U.S. today. She finds that they belong to the radical, apocalyptic tradition, in mood, concepts and vocabulary, even when the radicals have abandoned the biblical faith. The most significant section deals with the radical reaction to the white man and his religion on the part of American Indians and the Black people. It is interesting that in both cases, the rejection of Christianity does not include Jesus, since to the radicals Jesus has so obviously been betrayed by the white man's religion that he himself is not really a white man.

Despite Mrs. Ruether's sympathy for the radical tradition, she does not hide the highly problematic character of the apocalyptic mood and the destruction that has so often been its consequence. She presents the various ways in which this revolutionary consciousness has been dissolved, often leading to purely marginal phenomena with minimal effects on society, and even to irrational, self-defeating behavior, to bloodshed. The blood spilled, however, was usually that of the radicals themselves who were ruthlessly persecuted by society. Mrs. Ruether shows that much of what passes today as revolutionary movement is equally problematic.

In particular she explains the anti-historical attitude of the revolutionary. Since he expects the advent of a new age, there is nothing he can learn from history. There are no parallels to the radically new. This same ecstatic expectation also dispenses the revolutionary from making plans for the post-revolutionary society. The new will have to happen first, and then, out of the new consciousness, people will order their lives in a new way.

Despite these ambiguous and often dangerous elements implicit in the apocalyptic crisis, Mrs. Ruether insists that the revolutionary has an important social and political function. This, I think, is the main point of her book. It is through the revolutionary movement that transcendence becomes available in history. Through this movement traditional cultural consciousness is questioned, unsettled, and made insecure, and people are supplied with a new imagination of what social life could be like. Yet Mrs. Ruether acknowledges that the revolutionary must find mediators who are able to translate the utopian dream into what is historically possible.

Such mediation will inevitably water down the revolutionary élan, but such mediation is the only way in which the revolutionary ideal can influence the construction of society. Rosemary Ruether is in favor of apocalyptic crisis as the necessary factor in the creation of a new consciousness, thanks to which human life on this globe may become more peaceful, more humane, more liberated. Though she sees the dangers implicit in the apocalyptic mood, she does not advocate the suppression of the revolution nor an ideological critique of it, but rather the creation of mediating groups which grasp the revolutionary inspiration and translate it into realistic measures that could significantly modify social life.

Since Mrs. Ruether thinks that the Christian faith was originally apocalyptic, she has offered a demonstration in her book that this original faith has been the axis along which the development of Western society has taken place and that it still remains the point of insertion by which transcendence is made available to the present generation.

The Radical Kingdom raises many problems, theological as well as sociological. First there is the question whether apocalypticism is really the original Christian revelation. Is the historical drama as the mode of salvation, so clearly expressed in some parts of the New Testament, even in the earliest sections, simply the taming of apocalyptic expectations? Is ecstasy really the original Christian gesture? I hold that conversion is more fundamental. It would be worthwhile, in the context of Mrs. Ruether's study, to clarify the distinction between ecstasy and conversion, and work out the political meaning of both. Conversion is indeed a radical gesture, but the element of discontinuity is accompanied by a thrust that seeks self-identity. Ecstasy cuts a man loose from his historical base. Conversion differs from ecstasy precisely in that it assures the remaking of man through a more total self-possession. Conversions, moreover, are never final. Man grows through many conversions, each of which has its own quality.

In sociological terms, conversion stands for social change that is radical from one or several points of view but, at the same time, reaches out for continuity and the creation of self-identity. The sociological understanding of conversion corresponds to what Mrs. Ruether calls historical drama. Some of the critical points in this history may indeed be revolutions in the proper sense, but the model for understanding them may not be ecstasy but the passage from death to life that takes place in conversion. I do not deny, of course, that there are conversions that are ecstatic, for instance, St. Paul's, but

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FATHER GREGORY BAUM, O.S.A., *is the author of several books including* Faith and Doctrine *and, most recently,* Man Becoming (*Herder and Herder*).

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ecstasy is recognized as authentic only as it stands up under the divine critique. Ecstasy is not the measure: it is in need of measure. When Rosemary Ruether defines revolution as collective social ecstasy, she does not move on to a theological critique that would enable her to distinguish various forms of revolutionary consciousness. She applies no critique to the utopian dream.

This leads me to a second point. Is Mrs. Ruether's understanding of social change correct? Is it really true that the utopian dream has been the significant transcendent element in the various radical transformations experienced in the West? The least that can be said is that there are other views on this issue worth considering.

Curiously enough Max Weber himself analyzed social change in categories drawn from the New Testament. He held that the persons or groups who initiated a new consciousness in society and thus prepared the various social transformations, moderate and radical, were "the charismatics." The charismatic, according to Max Weber, has the gift to discern the malaise from which people suffer in a given society, to put this malaise into words, and thus to acquire extraordinary authority derived and confirmed by the people's own experience. Because of their power to unsettle the old order, the charismatics were usually regarded as dangerous by society and often persecuted by its official representatives. As these charismatics were able to surround themselves with followers and create a social movement, they were often able to influence the common consciousness of the society and thus initiate social change. Sometimes this change modified social institutions in a gradual manner, sometimes it affected the scientific, artistic or religious concepts of people, sometimes it provoked more radical transformations, including revolutions. Yet whenever the charismatic vision was successful in becoming the source of social change, there took place what Mrs. Ruether calls "mediation" and Max Weber "the institutionalization of the charism," that is, the lowering of the ideal to fit it into the historical drama. But for Max Weber the charismatic is not the apocalyptic visionary, but the prophet in the biblical sense.

Again as a comparison between ecstasy and conversion so a comparison between apocalypticism and prophecy would have been useful. Not that these two concepts are mutually exclusive. Prophecy has at times been apocalyptic. Yet the apocalyptic vision is only historically significant if it is based on a true analysis of the ills of society and corresponds to possibilities which by God's grace are available to man or at least promised to him: but in that case the vision is prophecy. By taking into consideration charisma or prophecy, Rosemary Ruether would have theological categories by which to make significant distinctions within apocalyptic literature.

These critical remarks do not detract from the importance and usefulness of Mrs. Ruether's book. She has had the inspiration and the courage to systematize her theological understanding in patterns that permit theological conversation, not by denying these categories and substituting others for them but by introducing distinctions that might make them clearer. *The Radical Kingdom* is an heuristic book. It provokes new thought and engages the theologian in important conversation.

It is generally recognized today, in psychology and sociology, that man is future-oriented. We must raise the question, therefore, what kind of imagination in regard to the future leads to the transformation of consciousness and the reconstruction of the world. Rosemary Ruether attaches great importance to the utopian dream. In this she follows the philosophers of the New Left. Herbert Marcuse, in particular, shows that present structures cannot be overcome unless a viewpoint is available from which the present may be criticized. What is required for social change is, therefore, transcendence. Since Marcuse does not recognize the biblical tradition and consider the possibility that this transcendence be supplied by God's revelation in Israel and Christ, he looks for transcendence in the utopian dream. Ask for the impossible, and it shall come to pass. Unfortunately Rosemary Ruether does not search for theological categories that might enable her to distinguish between various dreams of future fulfillment.

I think it should be possible to distinguish between apocalyptic vision and revealed myth. The former creates the utopian dream which gives rise to expectations that can never be fulfilled, and the latter, situated beyond historical expectation, elicits an endless series of alternative images of the future, that belong to the possible. If the utopian vision is not a critical symbol beyond the actual but a concrete picture of the day after tomorrow, it is, I think, a destructive image, leading to apathy, boredom, and eventually to despair. In his sociology of knowledge, Karl Mannheim has shown that the utopian makes himself so sensitive to the elements of self-destruction in the present system that he anticipates its impending doom and, for this reason, does not come to a realistic evaluation of society and sound political judgments. Utopianism is politically counter-productive.

In this context it would be necessary to analyze the psychological distinction between fantasy and imagination in the creation of man's personal consciousness. While fantasy is a compulsive flight from reality, schizoid or paranoid in character, the imagination of many future possibles is essential for man's well-being and creativity. It would be a legitimate endeavor to translate this distinction into sociological and political terms.

Rosemary Ruether has brought out the fruitfulness of the theological approach to political history. I know of no Catholic author who has done this as well and as convincingly. But in doing so she has not taken seriously enough the question raised in the present century in regard to messianism and man's trans-human dreams. Many thinkers have considered man's aspiration to become more than human as a source of personal alienation and social vio-

(*Continued on page 469*)

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BOOKS

Back to backwoods Mississippi for Granny's 90th birthday

Losing Battles
EUDORA WELTY
Random House, $7.95

LINDA KUEHL

For me there are two kinds of fiction that really matter. There is what Iris Murdoch calls the "crystalline" novel which represents existence in pellucid, metaphysical terms, terms which, however complex and profound, can be dealt with analytically, summed up cerebrally, like works by Albert Camus, Julio Cortazar, and William Gaddis. The other kind of fiction, diametrically opposite to theirs, defies intellectual restatement because life's mysteries are rendered passionately, lyrically, inexhaustibly awesome. Although books of the latter kind differ from one another radically, each provides an elusive, finally ineffable experience, as in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness,* Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway,* Joyce's *Dubliners,* and almost everything by Faulkner and Beckett.

Eudora Welty, whose fiction bursts at the seams with life while secret reaches of the soul reverberate darkly, is an artist of the second sort. "What noise!" as she has written about Jane Austen's work. "What a commotion comes out of the pages . . . the sheer velocity from scene to scene, conversation to conversation . . . is something equivalent to a pulsebeat. The clamorous griefs and joys are all giving voice to the tireless relish of life." Her own work juxtaposes darkness and light, death and life, pathos and joy, ignorance and wonder, and nowhere more abundantly than in the new novel, *Losing Battles,* which appears after a fifteen-year hiatus. In this her longest work Miss Welty assembles a multitude of poor white backwoods people at an annual family reunion, and lets them speak on and on independently of herself in revival meeting fashion about "the lonesomeness and hilarity of survival."

The Reunion takes place on a first Sunday of August during the 1930's when Granny Vaughn's grand-, great-grand-, and great-great-grandchildren gather at her farm from the remotest areas of the Mississippi hills to commemorate her 90th birthday. After frenzied arrivals, the celebration gets underway as grandson Noah Webster's new wife, Aunt Cleo, asks why great-grandson, Jack Renfro, was sent to jail. Her question unleashes a torrent of little fact and lots of myth, while she, the outsider, plays devil's advocate in the traditional manner of the tall tale's skeptic, and Granny's brood explains, interjects, conjectures, cajoles, brags, defends, pretends, and swears until the story is pell-mell told. Then Jack arrives—for he does, as they expect, break out of jail a day early to be with them. The family feasts on ham, sausage, five kinds of bread, fresh butter, milk and whatnot, surrounded by babies, dogs, coons, squirrels, birds, the Thanksgiving turkey, neighbors and, eventually, even the Judge, who indicted Jack, and his ubiquitous wife. They sing hymns, shout invectives and Hallelujahs, revel in Brother Bethune's exhortations about sin and salvation, and rapaciously invent the oral history of the intermarried Vaughns, Beechams and Renfros, Baptist born and bred in the town of Banner, Boone county, in the "great and sovereign State of Mississippi."

To mistake Miss Welty's shared jubilation for sentimentality, however, would be to misread the book entirely. She relishes the "sheer velocity" of life without romanticizing it. The title, *Losing Battles,* reflects the irony implicit in her vision of her characters' vision. Granny Vaughn, for instance, denounces the family *sotto voce,* muttering "thieves," "traitors," "Benedict Arnold," "My children have deserted me," "They'd steal your life, if they knew how . . ." while they beam on beatifically. The night of the Reunion, this wizened nonagenarian, still running strong, unnerves a great-grandson by whispering to him as he passes her bedroom: "Take off your hat . . . And climb in wi' me."

Isolation amidst the tumult is further introduced through the battles waged by two refined sensibilities—Julia Mortimer and her protégée, Gloria Short—both of whom denounce the dirt farmer's chauvinism. Julia's death precedes the Reunion by a day, provoking spiteful tales about her as the taskmaster who failed to civilize generations of resisting Vaughns, Beechams and Renfros. Though Julia looms in their memories as an avenging schoolmistress in the sky, the community finally conquers the demon by ignoring her last will and testament and burying her beside the one-room schoolhouse where she had reigned for decades. Thus Miss Mortimer is subdued eternally in Banner soil.

Gloria Short, the orphan schoolteacher Jack married, descends from a long line of female iconoclasts like Robbie Reid, in *Delta Wedding,* who challenged the clannish Fairchilds of the plantation, Shellmound; and Virgie Rainey, in *Golden Apples,* who asserted her inimitable self against Morgana's dreary citizenry. The price for awareness and individuality is conflict and solitude, so Jack's family would rather invent Gloria as the illegitimate daughter of their *own* dead brother, Sam Dale Beecham, than tolerate her separateness. In a moment of incipient violence, they join hands around her, singing "Welcome into the family," while she cries, outraged, "I won't be a Beecham!"

Yet the battle goes deeper than antagonism between group and individual. The real, the irreparable dilemma, is the unbridgeable gulf existing between each person and every other. This explains why the majority feels threatened by the few who stand alone, and why they take refuge in loyalty and tyrannical love.

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Only Jack and Gloria manage in some inexplicable way to approach unspoken communion. The others do not seem capable of silence but gab a mile a minute without pausing for reflection.

Miss Welty's sense of inevitable loneliness and the mysteries of the human heart purge her fiction of sentimentality. Her humor—ranging from slapstick, farce and W. C. Fields-like satire to subtle irony and down-home understatement—purges it of romanticism. The tension she creates between concealment and revelation, surprise and fate, mystery and actuality, love and rage, the delicate balance she commands between these poles while showing their discord, stamps her talent as major. But then, *Losing Battles* is the deceptively simple work of a great technician. The string of tall tales resembles, a six-act grand old oprey about the Mississippi hills, yet the novel is intricately, deviously plotted. Characters emerge almost exclusively through dialogue, with the author invisible and her compassionate view of people and events tacit. Through their interaction with environment, characters transmit setting—the crude farmhouse, the maze of treacherous backroads, rickety wooden bridges, the nearby Bywy River, Banner Top. Time rushes forward in a lyric progression from the rooster's first crow that morning to the full moon that night, from the clarity of daylight when loquacity compensates for loneliness to the opacity of night when the heart beats to the tune of imponderables.

A lesser writer than Eudora Welty might have ended this narrative with the poetic "moonlight the thickness of china," but her own uncanny sense of life's disintegration and flow impels her to continue into the following morning at which time the family must disperse until next year's gathering. Then riddles once again will be pursued, private memories plundered, hardships talked away. Gloria and Jack meanwhile attend Julia Mortimer's funeral and the book ends with their trip home—Jack leading Gloria on a mule as she proclaims, "And some day . . . some day yet, we'll move to ourselves," and he sings, in his loudest voice, "Bringing in the sheaves."

The Unheavenly City: The Nature and the Future of our Urban Crisis

EDWARD C. BANFIELD

Little, Brown, $6.95

RUTH BEINART

Two hundred and sixty years separate the visions of Edward Banfield and those of Cotton Mather, whose quotation from *Theopolis Americana* begins Banfield's book. Mather saw a "heavenly city . . . O America, the Holy City!" Banfield sees another kind of city, an unheavenly one, populated increasingly by the people of the "lower class," the unheavenly people, mostly black but not all.

But visions and conjurations afflict the eyesight of both men—the primitive Puritan of pre-Revolutionary times and the conservative urbanist of these revolutionary years. Mather's witches were women who cast spells and secular New Englanders who rejected the religious bigotry of those days. Banfield's witches are the "lower class" and their advocates, the do-gooders of today.

To Banfield all is illusion—the problems of race, unemployment, poverty, the benefits of education, social causes of crime. With professorial cynicism, this Harvard professor proves that the "lower class" really doesn't have it all that bad and besides they really like it that way.

Item: "To the working class, a different set of values to accord with its life style governs the choice of physical arrangements in the city. Space is less important to the working-class family than to the middle- or upper-class one. It prefers being 'comfy' to having privacy; it is thought natural for children to sleep two or three to a room or perhaps even to a bed. . . . Riding to work by oneself is no fun either; the working-class prefers a car pool but does not mind a bus or subway."

Item: "In the lower class, work is most dissatisfying because of the discipline it entails; the lower-class person prefers near-destitution without work to abundance with it."

Although Banfield carefully defines four classes early in the book—the upper, middle, working, and lower classes—in later pages, he persistently fuses the last two. His definition of "lower class" comes close to the Marxist "lumpen-proletariat," but, to Banfield, lumpen schlumpen, what's the difference what kind of proletariat they are.

Lumpen or just plain proles, their problems are insoluble. Either the problems will solve themselves, given time and the magic of capitalism, or the more responsible classes will finally get wised up and adopt some or all of twelve "feasible" solutions proposed by Banfield. He regrets that these measures, which include repeal of minimum wage laws, reduction of compulsory schooling to nine years (the Greek junta goes even further and proposes lowering it to five years), and adoption of more severe anti-crime measures (he hints at preventive detention), are not now politically acceptable. But, who knows, if the situation becomes unheavenly enough, the upper classes may be willing to accept them.

Banfield's sophisticated cynicism has appeal, undoubtedly. After all, in his "realism," his acceptance of the imperatives of capitalism, Banfield adopts the aspect of the radical. "That guy tells it like it is, not like the bleeding hearts," one can hear the reader say.

But Banfield's "realism" is a cruel one which consigns the slum-dweller to three kids in a bed, as cruel as the exploiter of Chicano migrant labor who rationalizes: "They don't mind picking strawberries. They're built closer to the ground."

Banfield's "realism" has power, too. He is the head of President Nixon's task force on model cities. No wonder that program, touted beyond its possibilities to begin with, is fading faster than Mather's poltergeists.

How real, however, is Banfield's argumentation in 1970?

He takes on the solutions of the do-gooders and demolishes them one by one as impractical or unnecessary. Nowhere does he deal with those who look towards more radical solutions,

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toward basic changes in the structure of society or in the economy. For instance, he does not discuss public ownership of housing, now a serious topic of discussion in the housing movement, as a solution to the permanent shelter crisis.

The argument is no longer between Banfield's conservatism and the do-gooders, the FDR-era liberals. It is between his stand and those who reject the confines of capitalism, who look to socialist models. That's where it's at now in New York City, Chicago, San Francisco, Washington, D.C. and, yes, even in Mather's Boston.

The Cross and the Bo-Tree: Catholics and Buddhists in Vietnam

PIERO GHEDDO

Sheed & Ward, $7.95

TOM FOX

The Cross and the Bo-Tree, Piero Gheddo explains in his introduction, tries to explain the Vietnamese "from the point of view of the religious dimension." In fact, the book is less ambitious in scope, focusing on the Catholic church in Vietnam, its history, its relations with the Buddhists and its present spiritual and political dilemmas. It is the most comprehensive study of the church since the end of the French colonial era.

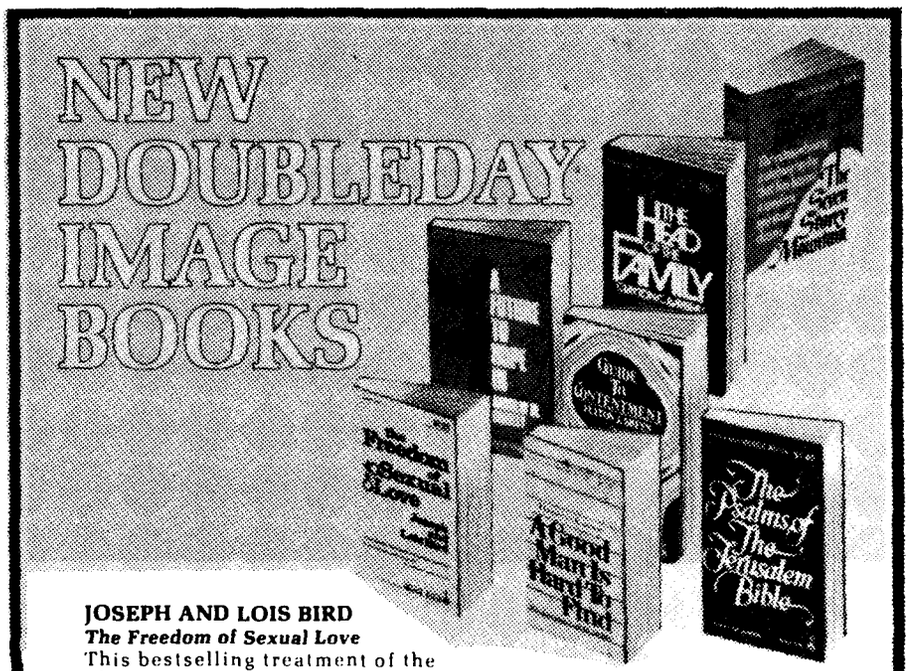
Relying heavily on missionary accounts of the early church, Gheddo dispels some commonly held notions that the gospel came to Vietnam—then Tonkin—as part of the colonial regime. In fact Spanish and Portuguese missionaries arrived on the shores of the South China Sea in the 16th century and by the year 1663 had converted 10 percent of the two million Tonkinese, roughly the same proportion of Christians found in present-day Vietnam. During the French colonial period, he notes, the church did not especially prosper in furthering the spread of the gospel. An interesting rhythm appears: the church grew faster in a time of persecution and slowed down as it became more intertwined with the colonial regime and was considered a "foreign religion."

With the end of World War II and the Japanese occupation, the Catholics throughout Vietnam rallied behind Ho Chi Minh and the first national government, declared on August 29, 1945. The Catholics enthusiastically supported the Viet Minh. A missionary writes from Vietnam (1946):

> The duty of the Christians, therefore, is no longer in doubt and the greater part of them have already made their choice. . . . They refused to compromise their faith by making a common cause with the metropolitan power. They wanted to preserve the independence of Christianity by working with their fellow countrymen for the legitimate cause of the independence of their homeland.

The Vietnamese bishops write a collective letter to Pope Pius XII (Sept. 1945):

> Our people has asked its four bishops to offer to your Holiness



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> *the homage of its profound respect and to ask your blessing . . . upon our independence which the people has acquired and intends to keep at any price. . . .*

Gheddo argues that it was not until several years into the first Indochinese war that the Catholics began to have second thoughts about Ho Chi Minh. He attributes the change in attitude to an increasing awareness on the part of Catholics of the Communist dominance within the Viet Minh. "In 1949-1950 it seemed clear to all in Vietnam that the Viet Minh was closely bound up with the Communist countries and wanted to impose a Communist regime on the Vietnamese people."

An important factor not mentioned by Gheddo and seldom discussed by any Vietnamese historians is that, with the return of the French to Indochina, a clear division grew up between the Viet Minh-controlled countryside and the French-controlled cities. The division actually dates back to the early days of the French colonial period when, with the introduction of a modern style monetary tax system, a dual economic system emerged in which demands were conceived in the modern urban sectors and satisfied in the traditional rural sectors. As most of the church's ecclesiastical leadership and upper class elites lived in the cities, they became separated from the peasants, and social and geographical animosities grew, nurtured in fear and distrust. In a word, the enemy became "faceless," a situation which has lasted to the present day. Gheddo examines in considerable depth the motives of the over 800,000 Vietnamese who moved to the South; and while admitting that the reasons were complex, he concludes that they fled "to preserve their faith. . . . The following years will tell . . . whether or not this fear was justified."

Writing about the church in North Vietnam, Gheddo has collected what little information is known. He quotes several witnesses who have been in the North during the past several years:

> In Hanoi one sees in church young people and couples with children as well as old people. . . . Travelers who have assisted at the Christmas midnight mass of 1962 in Hanoi cathedral, reported that the doors of the cathedral were closed at 11:30 P.M. At that time the church was full, and outside there was a crowd of some 5,000 people who were gathered in the square in front and in the convergent streets.

"Despite many anti-religious measures," he concludes, "the Hanoi government continues to allow certain religious freedom."

The church in the South since the division of Vietnam in 1954 has taken a different path. Under the Diem regime "the temptation of triumphalism was strong and the church as a whole, with few exceptions, gave in." Gheddo asks that we not judge the church too harshly as Vietnam still lives in a "sacred age" similar to our Middle Ages.

Whereas the insight is crucial to understanding the Vietnamese temperament, he does not distinguish adequately between the "religious" and the "spiritual" aspects of the Vietnamese psyche. Without question the Vietnamese are spiritual; Vietnam is a spiritual way of growing rice. Yet triumphal religion has always failed in Vietnam from as early as the twelfth century during the "golden age of Vietnamese Buddhism." Vietnamese shrines are an ubiquitous feature of Vietnamese life but they are for the most part inconspicuous; and Vietnamese Buddhists have built far fewer temples than most other Asian nations.

Can Buddhism and Catholicism survive together? Gheddo believes they can and must if a religious force is to grow up which will balance the pervasive National Liberation Front. His analysis is correct; Catholic-Buddhist hostility in South Vietnam has had more political than purely religious animus behind it, and the direction of understanding between the two has been positive in recent months.

A more important question, one he does not adequately explore, is: can Catholicism survive a nationalist Vietnam? The church has erred during the past 25 years in siding with the "outside forces," as have the Saigon govern-

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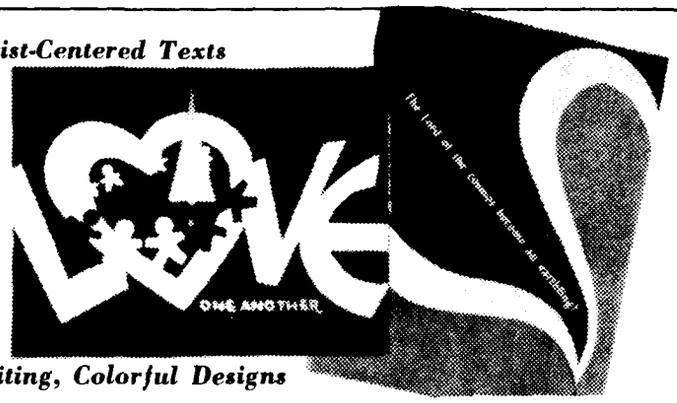

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REVIEWERS

LINDA KUEHL, free-lance writer and critic, has an interview with Eudora Welty appearing in *The Paris Review*.

RUTH BEINART edits *Tenant News*, a publication of the Metropolitan Council on Housing.

TOM FOX, a doctoral candidate in Asian Studies at Yale, toured Southeast Asia last year for *Commonweal*.

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ments. That which defines nationalism in Vietnam is the spirit of resistance. As unattractive a prospect as it may be to most Vietnamese Catholics, in the end life with the Communists must come, and *they* carry the nationalist mantle.

It is not only unreal but self-defeating to continue the present Vietnamese Catholic-American honeymoon. Some "progressive Catholics" understand the precarious nature of the present situation only too well. Unfortunately they receive only six pages of consideration near the end of the book. Some of these Catholics, anticipating what it seems will be the future, are now busily translating the documents of Vatican II into Vietnamese in the hopes of sustaining Christian thought in a Vietnam cut off from the West.

Gheddo writes from a clearly "anti-Communist" point of view, but this is understandable: Vietcong terror, he claims, was the most striking revelation of his stay. Within the context of Catholicism he vividly presents the fears and dilemmas facing the church. He does not adequately consider the broader political and sociological phenomena which cannot be separated from the future of Christianity in Vietnam. The book is well worth the time of anyone wishing to understand Catholicism in Vietnam. Its prejudices are those of the majority of Catholics within the South.

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BAUM . . .

(*Continued from page 464*)

lence. Some Christian authors have even suggested that Jesus came to destroy the messianic dreams of mankind, to detach man from the triumphalist fantasy that there is an eternal formula which saves all men, in which people may invest all their hopes, and which justifies their invasion of the lives of others who do not share this belief. Mrs. Ruether discusses this critique brilliantly in her important summary of Camus' thought. At first she thinks that Camus' plea for man's finite humanity is in harmony with the neo-orthodox understanding of man. Later she moves away from Camus altogether. In rejecting the political realism of Niebuhr, she insists that "man by nature is a paradoxical fusion of infinite aspiration and finite possibility." If one substitutes the word "grace" for "nature" in this sentence, it is possible to affirm with greater sympathy for Camus and Niebuhr, that the infinite aspiration repeatedly enters man's life by calling him to the possible, the finite, the truly human.

CORRESPONDENCE

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(*Continued from page 451*)

framework of constitutional government." Neither my Brazilian War College audience nor the Brazilian administration had the slightest doubt about American hopes and desires for a full and prompt restoration of constitutional liberties and representative democracy. Nor would anyone else who read the full text rather than isolated passages taken out of context. But events in Brazil are controlled by Brazilians. No foreign government or embassy can exert more than a marginal influence over them.

As to aid during those years, its central purposes were to support economic development and social progress. Helping to overcome the inflationary chaos left behind by Goulart; expanding electric power supplies; assisting education, public health, and agricultural modernization; providing seed capital for new credit institutions for moderate-cost housing and small manufacturing businesses—these were the typical aid objectives and programs. Mr. della Cava appears to imply that refusal of aid would have overthrown the regime or moved it more rapidly in a democratic direction; I see no evidence to support that view.

Finally, let me summarize my actual political beliefs, in contrast to Mr. della Cava's interpretations. I am an unrepentant democratic liberal, maintaining the perhaps old-fashioned conviction that the concepts of the rule of law, freedom of press and associa-

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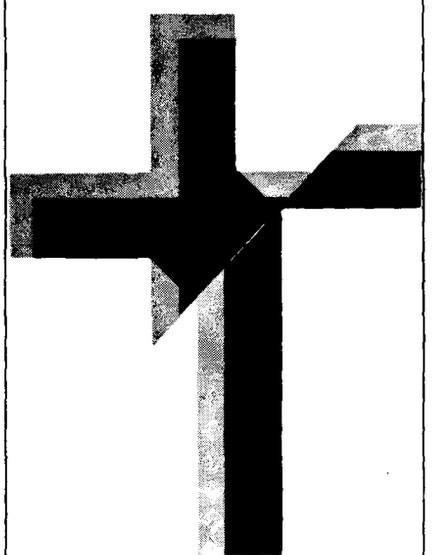
—JOHN L. McKENZIE, S.J.



New Testament Disunity
Its Significance for Christianity Today
by John Charlot

Recently, Pope Paul VI appointed a theological commission to determine the boundary between doctrinal orthodoxy and heresy. What can be the ground of any doctrinal harmony? And what is the relation of these concerns to the teachings of the New Testament? These questions are discussed by a young theologian who offers a radical basis for religious freedom. $7.95

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tion, and protection of civil liberties through well-enforced constitutional bills of rights are among the noblest creations of mankind. I also consider political democracy a form of government superior to any other I know, but recognize it to be a very fragile plant in societies struggling for modernization against a legacy of poverty, population pressure, and institutional inertia. Your readers can find these views set forth at some length in *A New Deal for Latin America* (Harvard University Press, 1963) and in the published hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on my confirmation as Assistant Secretary of State, dated Feb. 7, 1966.

LINCOLN GORDON

Philadelphia, Pa.

To the Editor: Lincoln Gordon's defense of his role in Brazilian developments fails to come to grips with the most basic fact: that he actively participated in the displacement of a constitutional regime by a military dictatorship. He admittedly "welcomed the ouster of Goulart" because "all the evidence" pointed to Goulart's "intention" to replace the 1946 constitution with a "populist dictatorship" on the model of Vargas or Peron. "Ouster of Goulart" is a euphemism for overthrow of the still legitimate and constitutionally elected government. We can take with a grain of salt Gordon's assertion that "all the evidence" pointed to Goulart's revolutionary intent. What can be said even on the basis of his own self-serving rhetoric is that a *threat* of a popular dictatorship led him to support the *actuality* of a military and *un*popular dictatorship. Given his collaboration in the overthrow of the popular constitutional framework, Gordon's statement that "my influence was exerted before the 1964 coup toward strengthening the constitutional framework" is analogous to a physician, who has given a recalcitrant patient a dose of cyanide, sanctimoniously protesting his prior dedication to the patient's health.

In recent years we have heard similar arguments about "all the evidence" pointing to a Communist threat in the Dominican Republic, Greece and elsewhere. In the Third World there is always some populist or Communist threat that can be reduced, in the short-run, by military dictatorship and suppression. The beauty of a military dictatorship is not only that it attempts the direct repression of populism, but that it also lacks substantial indigenous support, which makes it amenable to influence by an external constituency (e.g., the U.S.). Such governments are not too likely to be "anti-American" or inhospitable to U.S. investment. They have merits, therefore, even if the threat of popular dictatorship or Communism is quite remote. The great spread and hardening of military dictatorships within the American sphere of influence in the last two decades is assuredly a result of a conscious policy of encouragement and acceptance of a preferred form of government in the underdeveloped world.

Lincoln Gordon seemed to fit admirably into a government and policy framework that, even today, gives unswerving support (and considerable aid) to the Brazilian dictatorship. His misgivings come late. What is more, even if accepted at face value, they amount to a confession of total failure, not only as a humanist but as a social scientist and forecaster in an area of presumed expertise.

EDWARD S. HERMAN

Eyeing the Evangelicals

Ambler, Pa.

To the Editors: The article on Protestant evangelicals by Father Kilian McDonnell [8/21/70] warmed my heart.

As an evangelical layman in one of the mainline denominations (I am an elder in the United Presbyterian Church), I have for years been puzzled by the apparent willingness of Roman Catholic leaders to lock arms with the leaders of Protestant ecumenism. Many (perhaps most) Protestant ecumenists reject or play down the orthodox Christian tenets which form the core of both Catholicism and Protestantism. Evangelicals, on the other hand, can affirm all of the really fundamental doctrines of Catholicism. And I believe you will find that evangelicals are close to Catholics on many issues like divorce and abortion. Roman Catholics have much more in common with Protestant evangelicals than with liberal Protestant ecumenists. Yet Catholics and evangelicals traditionally have eyed each other with suspicion and hostility. I believe that the primary reasons for this is that until recently evangelicals have regarded Catholics as targets of their evangelism.

Lack of social concern among evangelicals is a valid criticism but, as Father McDonnell observes, this is changing rapidly. In all fairness, evangelicals have always had more social concern than they have been given credit for. Evangelical missionaries have always built schools and hospitals at their stations. Skid row missions are always established and maintained by evangelicals. The overseas orphanages of evangelicals like Bob Pierce are well known. The national hero of Guyana is one Martyr Smith. Rev. Smith, a missionary of the London Missionary

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Society, was sentenced to death for inciting British Guiana slaves to freedom. His "crime" was establishing schools for slaves. All of these examples reveal social concern of a high order.

I hope Roman Catholics will continue to consider their common ground with Protestant evangelicals.

ALAN M. FLETCHER

Less Whining, More "Bazzazz"

Tempe, Ariz.

To the Editors: In reading your editorial "The Right Moves" [8/21/70] I could not help feeling amused at the indignation of yourselves and certain other Catholic periodicals at *Twin Circle*'s taking over of *The National Register*. In some corners (Mr. Gerard Sherry's for instance) this has reached the point of near panic.

If I understand the issues correctly, the takeover represents a low kick at responsible moderation in the American Catholic press. It seems to me there is a lot of sour grape chewing going on. Are we to conclude from this attitude that responsible moderation is upheld only in the outrageously leftist *National Catholic Reporter*, or in the Casper Milquetoast liberal *America*, or even in your own admittedly left-of-center publication?

If the more liberal publications are losing ground, blame it on yourselves. Catholic liberals are, as many pastors have found, notoriously tight-fisted when it comes to money, even with their own favorite causes. You aren't the only pundits anointed to instruct the masses. So, for God's sake, stop whining over the good fortunes of the right. Get a little bazzazz and welcome the challenge of the new *Register*. I think you will find the people, in whom, as Lincoln assured us, lurks an underlying sense of justice and fair-play, quite capable of emerging responsible and moderate.

(REV.) GERALD A. BUCKLEY, O.P.

Corrected Quote

Spokane

To the Editors: Through a printer's error a "because" was omitted from a quotation in my review of Anthony T. Padovano's *American Culture and the Quest for Christ* [July 24]. The quotation, which I identify as the author's statement of thesis, occurs at the end of the next to last paragraph and should read: "The Christ figure in American literature is repeated so often because beneath the surface of our denials and doubts there is a longing to encounter a man such as he was and to be saved by the God in whom he believed."

JOHN P. SISK

'Racial' Reporting

Boston

To the Editors: The article [July 10] on race and the news media by Terry Ann Knopf was exceptionally good. Few 'liberal journals,' I believe, have the objectivity today to present such a fairminded view as displayed by the author of "Race, Riots, Reporters." I hope that *Commonweal* will have other articles on this serious problem in the future.

At the present time many American Negroes like myself are engaged in dialogues with members of the white news and cultural media on how to best attack reporting problems. It is an extremely complex issue, as the Knopf article indicated. But as with all sensitive problems, the best solutions come by first exposing the issue.

The one thing I would have liked to add to Miss Knopf's piece is that when whites report any event or personality as 'Negro,' they automatically make the story racial. And, of course, some stories which involve Negroes have nothing to do with that fact. One would think, however, from reading white periodicals and newspapers that anything a Negro does is racial, that is, the person or persons need to be racially described regardless of the story's theme. This practice ought to be discontinued.

CARL SENNA

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"PROTOCOL NOTES: *The New York Times (e.g., July 24), in reporting the trial in New Haven for the murder of Alex Rackley, refers throughout to Warren Kimbro, the government witness, as 'Kimbro,' to George Sams, another government witness, as 'Sams'—and to Bobby Seale, head of the Black Panther Party and a co-defendant, as 'Mr. Seale.'"*

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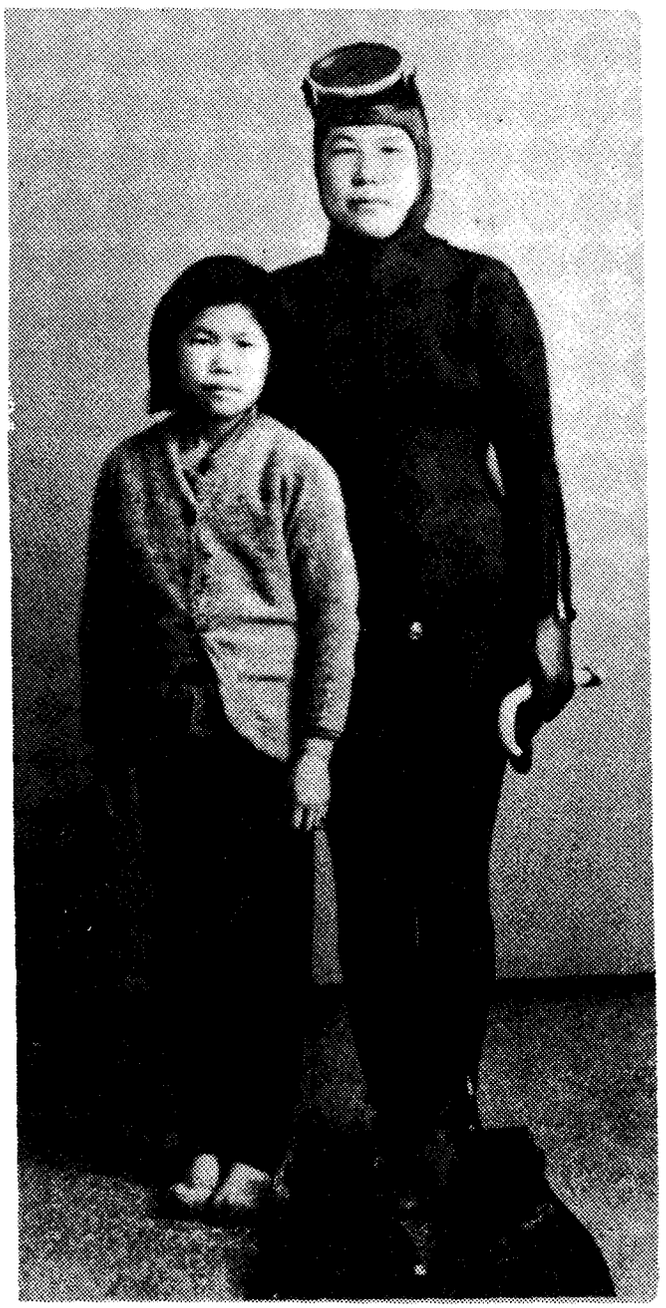

When Kim Young Sook thanked her Foster Parents for her mother's wet suit, she thanked all Foster Parents for their understanding, love and help.

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